

# **An investigation into the social justice and well-being of housed New Travellers.**



BA Hons Health and Social Care

Date of Submission: 28<sup>th</sup> April 2010

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## **List of Abbreviations/ terms**

**CJPOA:** Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, 1994

**DCLG:** Department for Communities and local Government

**FFT:** Friends, Families and Travellers

**GP:** General Practitioner

**GTAA:** Gypsy Traveller Accommodation Assessment

**OPSI:** Office of Public Sector Information

**Sedentary society:** Those who are settled in one area, usually in housing.

**On site:** To live ‘on site’ is to live on a piece of authorised or unauthorised land, usually with a number of other New Travellers.

**On the road:** Similar to living on site but takes into account time spent travelling between locations and stopping places which were sometimes literally ‘on the road’.

**Straight:** An expression for an exaggeratedly proper person, theory or lifestyle (wikipedia)

## **Acknowledgments**

I would like to thank the following individuals for their contribution of information and advice during this project:

Mary Darking – for superb guidance and assistance.

Friends, Families and Travellers – for general information and correspondence.

Bek D (of FFT) and Jeannie – for helpful hints.

Dr Margaret Greenfields – for helpful correspondence and signposting to relevant literature

The library Staff – for the many inter - library loans.

Tamsin Pope and Garga Chamberlain.

Granny Sian – for general encouragement and thesis based road trips.

All the New Travellers without whom this paper would not have been possible.

## Abstract

The primary aim of this dissertation is to explore the effects of the transition from site to house on the well-being of New Travellers. The dissertation argues that the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 is seminal to an eviction cycle which often results in the forced housing of New Travellers. This is explored through the conduction of a small-scale qualitative focus group, used as a case study to examine the experiences of housed New Travellers who lived on the road during the 1980s and 1990s but have since become housed. The research question underpinning my research is: How does the transition to housing affect the social justice and well-being of New Travellers? The aims of the research are as follows

1. To explore aspects of social justice and well-being in relation to the housing of New Travellers.
2. To document the views of Travellers who have experienced the transition into housing.
3. To compare experiences and concepts discovered in the literature search with the lived experience of New Travellers.

The needs and concerns of housed Travellers (New and Traditional) have generally been neglected by previous research and literature (Sampson. 2008 In Cullen et al.2008). Thus indicating the need for research into accommodation for travellers in general however, New Travellers are more under-researched than other Traditional Traveller communities (Hawes.1997). This dissertation is highly relevant to the field of Health and Social Care as New and Traditional Travellers tend to have lower levels of health than the general population (Hawes. 1997). State my conclusion

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

Throughout my dissertation I will refer separately to New Travellers – with whom my research is concerned, and other travelling communities, namely English Romani Gypsies, Welsh Gypsies, Irish Travellers and Scottish Gypsy/Travellers (as outlined in Clark and Greenfields. 2006), for whom I have used the term ‘Traditional Travellers’. This is not to say that Traditional Travellers are indistinguishable from one another in culture and identity, but I have used this term in order to minimise confusion and digression. I have also chosen to use the term ‘New Traveller’ as opposed to ‘New Age Traveller’ throughout the dissertation as the latter is not always used by New Travellers themselves and can invoke negative connotations due to media stereotyping (Clark, C. In Acton.1997).

Clark (1997. Cited in Martin. 2002) has identified three generations of New Traveller: the first generation emerged in the 1970’s, consisting of those attending free festivals and travelling with the ‘peace convoy’. Alternatively, second generation travellers are those who were pushed into the travelling lifestyle as a result of the ‘adverse social effects of Thatcherism in the 1980’s’ (Martin. 2002. Pg 726), the third generation being the children of the second generation. In relation to these categories, I would categorise myself as a housed third generation New Traveller and have decided to research the well-being of ‘second generation’ New Travellers who have become housed. The sentiments behind my dissertation topic and objectives are typified (?) in the following quote:

“It is estimated that between one-half to two-thirds of the Gypsy and Traveller population are currently in bricks-and-mortar housing. Yet their specific needs and concerns are rarely documented”. (Sampson. 2008 In Cullen et al.2008. Pg3).

New Travellers are distinguishable from Traditional Travellers due firstly to their history of formation as a travelling community. The New Traveller label usually refers to those

‘from the settled community, who for various reasons have decided to adopt a nomadic lifestyle similar to that of traditional travellers’ (Cleemput. 2000. Pg 32). The ‘similar lifestyle’ aspect of the quote above is essential, as although the physical lifestyles of New and Traditional travellers are similar, their culture, beliefs, customs and histories are generally quite different from one another (Cullen et al.2008. Pg 7). The similarities between Traveller groups are often underestimated as Traditional Travellers are recognised as an ethnic minority under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000) whereas New Travellers are not (Cullen et al.2008). This issue will be discussed in section 2:2 of the literature review.

My research question includes the term ‘well-being’. It is necessary to offer some explanation of what I mean by this term in order to clarify the direction of my research. It is surprisingly difficult to pinpoint a definition of this contested term because its meaning can differ depending on the individual;

“[individuals] themselves are the only authority on their well-being, and there is no implication as to how they have come to be in that state or of how long it will last”.  
(Downie, R.S.1990. Pg 18)

This is why the best way to obtain information regarding the well-being of New Travellers is to gain direct opinions from them. The dictionary definition of well-being is as follows\*\*\* In my opinion the best representations of all the aspects included in ‘well-being’ that I have found are the Well-being Model (Smith. 2005. Appendix D) and the Mandala of Health (Hancock. 1993. Appendix E). For the purpose of this research these models have been used to conceptualize the meaning of well-being and were also used as a reference point to aid the formation and delivery of the questions posed in the focus group.

‘Social justice’ also appears in my research question. According to Fraser’s (1997) view of social justice, redistribution and recognition are of primary importance. She also provides a definition of ‘cultural or symbolic injustice’ which is particularly relevant to my research. The cultural/ symbolic approach bases injustice on elements such as:

‘Cultural domination: being subjected to patterns of interpretation and communication that are associated with another culture and are alien and/or hostile to one’s own; non-recognition (being rendered invisible by means of the authoritative representational, communicative, and interpretative practices of one’s culture); and disrespect (being routinely maligned or disparaged in stereotypic public cultural representations and/or in everyday life interactions).’ (Fraser, N. 1997. Cited in Barnes. 2006. Pg 151)

This perspective of social injustice corresponds with notions of sedentarism and prejudice; themes which develop over the course of my research. The above elements of social in/justice will be discussed in the literature search and explored throughout the dissertation. I will also be reviewing the effect of government policy on the social justice of New Travellers.

The first of the following chapters is the literature review which is divided into three subcategories; research on travellers, New Traveller research and legislation affecting New Travellers. The first two sections discuss and review the existing literature surrounding the health and wellbeing of New Travellers in comparison to that of Traditional Travellers, whereas the third part explains the impact of policies, specifically the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (CJPOA) 1994, on New Travellers in more detail. The methodology chapter explains and evaluates why I have chosen a qualitative approach and method for my research, along with ethical considerations. The results of the research are presented in two chapters; a case study which contextualises and presents some of the data I’m working with, and an analysis chapter which included more detailed analysis of the identified themes along with their significance, differences, patterns and relationships. Finally there is a conclusion which includes the limitations of my research and its implications for future research and policy formation.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

### **2:1 Traveller Research**

Pioneering research into the health of Gypsies and Travellers includes that of Parry et al (2004), who conducted a study entitled ‘The Health Status of Gypsies & Travellers in England’. This study found the health status of Gypsy Travellers (not including New Travellers) was ‘*significantly poorer*’ (emphasis added) than that of the general UK population, other ethnic minorities and other economically disadvantaged UK residents. The results of Parry et al’s (2004) study have significant implications for policy affecting Gypsies and Travellers as they show that facilitating a travelling lifestyle as opposed to eliminating it could have a positive effect on the health of an ethnic minority. The section which focuses on ‘health differences between Gypsies and Travellers in different accommodation types’ (Parry et al. 2004. Pg 201) is particularly relevant as the results have implications for both Traditional and New Travellers. Out of 293 participants, 80 were housed, giving the research a rare insight into the health of housed travellers. The research also found that ‘Travelling patterns show a strong relationship with health, with those who rarely travelled having the worst health status, in terms of health in past year’ (Parry et al. 2004. Pg 201). Parry et al’s (2004) findings are subject to a cause and effect dilemma; there is no way of telling whether it is accommodation that has affected health or poor health that has influenced choice of accommodation (Parry et al. 2004). Though the study excludes New Travellers, (reasons for this will be discussed further in section 2:2) I will be interested to discover if this pattern appears in the course of my research.



Southern and James (2006) carried out a study of Gypsy and Traveller Housing Needs Assessments (GTAAs) in Devon. Out of 128 Interviewees, a small percentage were New Travellers. Of those who specified that they were looking for alternative accommodation, 52.7% of travellers wanted their own land, in contrast with only 5 respondents who said they would like to move into a form of housing. The study concluded that 'As provision of sites has diminished, there has been a direct rise in health and welfare problems for Gypsies and Travellers' (Southern and James. 2006). This study indicates that it would be beneficial for both New and Traditional Travellers if policy were formulated considering the facilitation, as opposed to the elimination of the travelling lifestyle; this is discussed further in section 2:3. I am led to question Southern and James's results because the researchers have explained their results using percentages mixed with respondent numbers, making the figures confusing for the reader.

Research into the lives of housed travellers is rare; this is partly due to the underlying assumption that to be part of the settled population is the norm (Greenfields. 2007. Pg 75), and that once travellers become housed they automatically become members of sedentary society (Mcveigh, R. Cited in Acton.1997). This is despite the fact that the majority of Gypsies and Travellers in Britain live in houses (CRE. 2004), and research has shown that members of families who have been housed for more than forty years still affiliate and identify themselves with the travelling community (Greenfields.2009). Research used to inform the 'Good practice guide: Working with housed Gypsies and Travellers' published by homelessness charity Shelter (2008), is a rare piece of research which recognises the existence and identity of housed Travellers. The study involved interviews and focus groups with 82 housed Gypsies and Travellers, a small number were New Travellers and the majority were female (Shelter. 2008). The study found that staff in the field of health care often displayed a lack of cultural awareness towards the participants. It also found that female participants associated housing with the onset of depression due to a loss of social networks and the benefits of contact with other women (Cullen et al. 2009. Pg 28).

This finding is echoed by Kendall (Cited in Acton. 1997) who states that 'Women play a central role in accessing resources within the travelling community and are likely to

experience external oppression and discrimination to a greater degree than men' (Pg 80). However, both these sources are referring to Travellers in general, if not specifically to Traditional Travellers. I am inclined to question the applicability of this statement to New Travellers because male and female roles differ greatly between Traditional and New Travellers; Traditional Travellers tend to have specific traditions regarding their home life, typically subscribing to the 'male breadwinner' model in which men are given the task of providing for the family financially through paid labour and women are concerned with reproduction, childcare and the unpaid labour of housework (Clark and Greenfields. 2006. Pg 40). Whereas New Travellers tend not to conform to traditional gender roles but share domestic tasks, childcare and manual labour more equally depending on what is convenient (Clark and Greenfields. 2006. Pg 40). Nevertheless, gender roles are an aspect to consider in my research.

## **2:2 New Traveller Research**

Unlike Gypsy, Roma and Irish Travellers, New Travellers are not considered an ethnic minority (Cullen al.2008). They are therefore left unprotected by anti-discrimination legislation (For example, the Minority ethnic exclusions and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000. In Parsons. 2004), which can result in the failure to include New Travellers in research based on Traveller's rights. Official counts do not include New Travellers (Earle et al.1993) which makes it difficult to estimate the number of New Travellers living either 'on site' or in housing. The reason most studies give for failing to include New Travellers is that New Travellers have 'opted' (Parry et al. 2004. Pg 198) to undertake their lifestyle. This is quite an oversight as in reality the decision to become a New Traveller has, for some, been the only viable alternative to becoming homeless (Lowe and Shaw. 1993) In any case, there are now second and even third generation New Travellers ( Clark, C. 1997. Cited in Martin. 2002. Pg 5) who did not 'elect' (Hetherington. 2004) this lifestyle but have been born into it.

Although Hetherington makes a sturdy contribution to the study of New Travellers; devoting an entire work to the topic, his work is made less credible by its sometimes condescending tone ('I do not want to parade their strangeness' Pg 10) and various ill-informed observations. This is elaborated upon by Martin (2002. Pg 726) who disagrees with Hetherington's opinion that New Age Travellers are an 'elective community'. It has been noted that many New Travellers had little choice in taking to the road due to 'unemployment, hostile government policies and bleak inner-city environments' (Clark, 1997: 130). A valuable emphasis Hetherington does make is the importance of rurality to New Travellers. A penchant for rural locations is linked to the survival of particular sites; the higher the visibility of unauthorised site, the more likely that eviction will occur. 'A greater proportion of Travellers in the South West region live on unauthorised sites compared to the rest of England' (Doyal et al. 2002). This suggests that the geographical location of participants in my research both before and after becoming housed will have affected their experiences.

Hawes (1997, pg 23) identified that there was a difficulty amongst all Travellers in registering with General Practitioners (GP's) due to the perception of surgery staff as 'unwelcoming' and a reluctant to take on patients who would not improve targets. He also noted that New Travellers appeared to be more aware of the services available than Traditional Travellers, and better at navigating their way through institutions (Hawes. 1997, Pg 31) such as the NHS. Later research by Webster (1999) confirmed that access to GPs for New Travellers was varied but that it was continuity of health care services rather than access to them (as Hawes suggests) that was most problematic for New Travellers. This was mirrored by the finding that schooling for traveller children was relatively easy to access but often disrupted, leading to a lack of continuity in education (Webster. 1999. Pg 140). Webster's (1999) research in which 23 New Travellers were interviewed, also found that interviewees had mainly negative experiences and perceptions of housing and felt that settled accommodation was associated with debt. The research concluded that 'while

resettlement may be the answer for a small minority of families, it is not the answer for the majority' (Pg 144).

James (2007) found that New Travellers often tried to look 'normal' in their dress and emphasize their ability to be clean and organised. James suggests these modifications were done to aid and maintain the travelling lifestyle by reducing perceptions of New Travellers as 'resistant' (Mckay. 1996. Cited in James. 2007. Pg 380) or 'other' (Greenfields. 2009. Pg 1). This sense of needing to hide one's traveller status is unsurprising considering the results of a poll stating that 35% respondents admit to feeling negative towards Gypsies and Travellers (MORI. Cited in Stonewall. 2003). Denial of New Traveller identity is a theme of Greenfield's (2002) thesis on New Traveller families and post-separation parenting agreements; participants in her research were often told by lawyers that to present themselves as 'normal' parents they should 'downplay their traveller identity' (Pg 273). This research also found that interviewees found it psychologically and emotionally difficult to withdraw from the travelling lifestyle, particularly when moving into the confines of housing (Greenfields. 2002. Pg 99). Although these findings are based on a small sample of New Travellers and are unrepresentative of the New Traveller population as a whole, they are a valuable qualitative contribution to a little- researched area.

Margaret Greenfields is a key researcher of the accommodation, health, education and parenting issues of New and Traditional Travellers. In a Race Equality Foundation briefing paper she states: 'Gypsies and Travellers who reluctantly resort to living in housing, in the absence of site provision, experience excessively high levels of anxiety and depression.' (Greenfields. 2009. Pg 1). It could be argued that Traditional Travellers living on site who have a long history of travelling, and in many cases little experience of living in housing may find the transition to housing more difficult and that their experiences of this transition would be more valuable to research than those of New Travellers. I would argue that although a valid point, this is a largely unjustified assumption; Greenfields has also stated that New Travellers experience 'similar emotional and practical difficulties to other

Travellers when first attempting to settle', with a propensity towards isolation and loneliness (In Clark and Greenfields. 2006. Pg 124).

Due to the nature of the travelling lifestyle the importance of community to the health of travellers has been considered by researchers in the field

'Membership of a community can enable someone to have positive feelings about themselves and their actions and can allow them to celebrate their cultural identity within a strongly supportive environment' Clark and Greenfields (2006. Pg 20)

As the concept of community belonging is intrinsically linked to that of identity, I am interested in exploring New Travellers' experiences of whether this environment and sense of community belonging is lost after moving into housing, and if so, has this loss affected their well-being?

### **2:3 New Travellers and the law**

For the purpose of this study, it is unnecessary to examine legislation concerning travellers prior to the 1970's in any great detail. However, I shall begin by mentioning the 1968 Caravan Sites Act, which was formulated by the government in response to a report titled 'Gypsies and Other Travellers' (1967) which was based on a 1995 survey of Traditional Travellers. The research found that there was a deficit of local authority provided sites, and that site conditions were unacceptable (Kenrick and Bakewell. 1995. Cited by FFT). The

1968 Caravan Sites Act was a breakthrough in that it required local authorities to provide accommodation for Gypsies living in their areas (Caravan Sites Act. 1968. Chapter 52. Pg 5) However, the government let it be known that they did not see New Travellers as a group which should be helped by the 1968 Act (Kenrick and Bakewell. In Johnson and Willers. 2007).

The most significant piece of legislation affecting New Travellers since the Caravan Sites Act in 1968 is the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (CJPOA) (1994). The CJPOA effectively repealed the caravan sites act thereby criminalizing nomadic lifestyles (Kenrick and Clark. 2000). Part V (section 61) of the CJPOA gave local authorities the power to evict any two or more trespassing persons residing, or intending to reside on land in a vehicle. Failure to leave when instructed could result in the seizure of vehicles (Card and Ward. 1994. Pg 324), rendering those in question homeless. The CJPOA was clearly a reaction to the moral panic caused by the emergence and demonization of 'New Age Travellers' in the media during the late 1980's and 1990's (McVeigh, R. Cited in Acton. 1997); to justify and gain support for the CJPOA, the Conservative government lead by John Major used the 'tactic of harnessing public outrage at the illegal and disruptive activities of those who attended unlicensed 'rave' parties' (Hawes 1995. Pg 123). The government and media at the time continued to misrepresent New Travellers (Clark, C. Cited in Acton, T.1997) by also insinuating that these parties were attended only by New Travellers when in reality many attendees were not (Hawes 1995).

The Conservative government made their opinions of New Travellers known with the seminal quote "New Age Travellers? Not in this age. Not in any Age." (John Major. 1992. In Carlen. 1996. Pg 39). Henceforth, the criminal Justice Bill was formed, supposedly as a regulatory policy; it has been argued however, that the policy was more symbolic than regulatory and that it was used to appease the public, and thus as a tool to increase electoral popularity (Hawes, 1995). By enforcing the CJPOA, the state, along with the local authorities under its control, reinforced sedentary attitudes among the public (McVeigh, R.

In Acton. 1997). Further governmental prejudice was evident at other levels of parliament; during a House of Commons debate on the Caravan Sites (amendment) Bill, Mr Sykes MP commented

“The plain, unvarnished truth about new age travellers and people like them is that, in many cases, they are dirty, lazy drop-outs, whose dedication to their way of life extends no further than the nearest benefit office, followed closely by the nearest pub.” (Hansard. 1993a and 1993b. Cited in Hawes.1995. Pg 119).

Despite the blatant prejudiced attitudes behind the CJPOA (1994) and huge opposition (Hawes. 1995) it was allowed to go ahead.

There appeared to be an underlying assumption behind the legislation that by making life difficult for them, the CJPOA would result in New Travellers becoming housed and assimilated into the settled society, subsequently eradicating their presence as a social ‘problem’ (Clark, C. Cited in Acton. 1997). The ostracisation of New Travellers was amplified by the fact that Traditional Travellers often attributed the passing of the CJPOA to the behaviour of New Travellers (Clark and Greenfields. 2006). The government’s multicultural and equality based objectives (Hewitt. 2005. Pg 10) and Human Rights legislation (Human Rights Act. 1998. Article 8 (1); The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. 1948. Article 12), were in contradiction with the CJPOA which attempted to control the homes and lives of the traveller population: ‘Dominant authorities are able to wield various techniques of domination to ensure that minorities “know their place and stay in their place” and that the existing structure of inequality is maintained’ (Shibutani and Kwan. 1965. In Kallen.2004. pg 4). This notion however, ignores the fact that housing a traveller does not immediately result in the disappearance or transformation of attitudes into those typical of the settled population.

The Housing Act (2004) made the development of ‘accommodation strategies’ mandatory for Local Authorities (LA’s) (Southern and James. 2006. Pg iv). This process is completed through the conduction of Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessments (GTAA’s). In theory this should have improved the conditions for those ‘living on site’ however, a disproportionate number of authorised sites remain (DCLG. 2009. Pg 8). The Housing Act (2004) also failed to recognise the increasing population of housed travellers and it was not



until 2006 that the existence of those who ‘have ceased to travel temporarily or permanently’ was acknowledged (Statutory Instrument 2006 No. 3190. Section 2 (b)). Even then, this revised information was not implemented until 2007 (Statutory Instrument 2006 No. 3190). There is also ‘no specific timescale attached to the completion of an accommodation assessment’ (Explanatory memorandum. 2006). This illustrates the weak and unresponsive nature of legislation addressing travellers. The lack of research concerning this group could be due to the fact that housed Travellers have historically been a minority in the traveller population. However, Shelter (2007) claim that the number of housed travellers has now overtaken the number of travellers living in mobile accommodation.

## **Chapter 3: Methodology**

### **Research Approach**

This dissertation is pertinent to the ‘phenomenological’ or ‘interpretive’ approach as it is concerned with the experience of human beings (Reid.1993. pg 20) and I am exploring the participants’ lived experience. The phenomenological approach is equated with a qualitative methodology because qualitative research ‘focuses on the experiences or meanings of individuals or groups in order to analyze how and why people form associations [with people, things, and their environment]’ (Carter, S and Henderson, L. In Bowling and Ebrahim. 2005. Pg 215). This account of qualitative methodology directly relates to the objectives of my dissertation as I am interested in the participants’ associations between their environment and their well-being. Thus, for the purposes of my research a qualitative method is most appropriate. I acknowledge that whilst quantitative studies in this area are rare and would be a valuable contribution, in order to gain the depth of information required to answer my research question - a qualitative method is more fitting.

It has been recognised by research methods literature that dissertations tend to address personal aims (Maxwell. 2005. Cited in Flick. 2009. pg 129); and inevitably this dissertation is inevitably influenced by my involvement in the New Traveller community. Previous researchers have identified that accessing the New Traveller community and recording interviews with them has been problematic (James. 2007. Pg 370), but as I am a member of the community I am researching this has not been a problem for me. Being a housed New Traveller is advantageous as it means I have access to the wider housed New Traveller community and as an interviewer I am familiar with the terminology, expressions and issues affecting New Travellers. I have however, attempted to distance myself from my own experience of the topic in hand in order to gain new knowledge and new answers to my research question. In doing this I aim to form an objective dissertation, which does not (as previous research has done) present New Travellers as ‘villains’ or ‘victims’ (Dearling. 1998), but clearly presents my findings. I have also tried to remain neutral in my assumptions about the results of the case study by welcoming counter-evidence.

## **Data collection method**

Niner (2002. Pg 28) has identified five categories of travelling pattern: Full-time travellers who travel more or less throughout the year; seasonal travellers who travel all or most of the summer but return to a base in winter; holiday travellers who are basically settled but travel in caravans for a few weeks in the summer; special occasion travellers who are basically settled but travel in caravans for family or other occasions; and settled Travellers who travel little or at all but still regard themselves as Gypsies or Travellers. The participants in my case study all belong to the latter category of former full-time travellers who now belong in the category of settled or 'housed' travellers. I chose these people as I wanted to find people who had travelled during the same period and became housed around the same time; in order for the participants to have experienced the same legal constraints and public attitudes allowing me to record a 'snapshot' (Flick. 2009. Pg 140) of that period. Stewart, Shamdasani and Rook (2006) suggest that a focus group should include 6-12 participants (Pg 58). I originally intended to conduct a focus group of six participants selected from personal contacts, as my primary method of data collection but due to circumstances arising on the day of the focus group it actually consisted of five participants.

As outlined in the literature review, there is relatively little research around the health of housed New Travellers, or on the topic of wellbeing as a whole related specifically to housed New Travellers. Stewart, Shamdasani and Rook (2006. Pg 44) suggest that when there is limited information on a topic, a focus group is a valuable method with which to research it: 'When little is known about a particular subject or a certain phenomenon, there are few research alternatives'. I am conducting my research through the use of a focus group as in the context of my research I believe a higher level of better quality information can be gained through participant interaction than with separate interviews (Creswell. 2007. Pg 133). This choice of data collection method was admittedly influenced by the limited time frame I had in which to conduct my empirical research and it was efficient to gather participants and explore their experiences in a single session. The collection of a single set of data at one specific time (Reid.1993) also made the case study 'cross-sectional' (Flick. 2009. Pg 447); complementing the chosen case study research format.

The data was collected using a semi-structured focus group question schedule (Appendix C) which despite being guided, aimed to facilitate interaction similar to a natural conversation, in order to fulfil the aims of the research. A criticism of using a focus group as a research method is that the researcher outlines the ‘focus’ of the group and selects the group members, so responses may not be as natural as intended due to interviewer effects (Morgan. 1993. Pg 13). The use of open-ended questions combats this to an extent by allowing participants to interpret questions in the context of their own experience, resulting in a more authentic contribution to the focus group conversation. This semi-structured design meant there was more flexibility to change the order and wording of questions depending on the flow of conversation. It also allowed previously unconsidered topics to be raised, thereby contributing to a more accurate representation of the participant’s experiences. During the focus group the two well-being models (Appendix E and Appendix F) were referred to, in order to convey what was meant by the term well-being and as a tool to aid discussion.

### **Method of data analysis**

An inductive approach is desirable for the purposes of my research as this approach allows theory to emerge from the data rather than testing a pre-determined hypothesis (Hill, M. 2009); and so I must not let the literature bias the analysis of results. This approach is in concordance with the ideals of grounded theory in which theory is ‘grounded’ in the data obtained from a specific group of participants with a shared experience (Creswell. 2007. Pg 63). My results cannot be generalized to New Travellers outside of the case study, however it is not gaining the ability to generalize, but gaining information about a phenomenon, that is the objective of qualitative research (Corbin and Strauss. 2008. Pg 319). Grounded theory was not used absolutely, but as a guiding tool in my analysis to provide me with a coding framework with which to go about the initial analysis of my data. The following coding procedures for developing grounded theory influenced the data analysis stage: Open Coding - categorising the data; Axial Coding - relating the concepts to one another; Comparative Analysis – finding variance and agreements within the data (Corbin and Strauss. 2008. Pg 195).

I will transcribe the digital recordings of the data then 'code' the data by identifying recurring and significant themes in order to help me organize and interpret the data (Coffey and Atkinson.1996). Coffey and Atkinson (1996. Pg26) remind researchers of the danger of letting coding dominate the analysis; coding is *part* of the analysis not *the* analysis (emphasis added). They also state the importance of gaining insight from the coding: 'There is no single right way to analyse qualitative data...enjoy and explore that diversity' (Coffey and Atkinson. 1996/ Pg 2-3). The next phase of the analytical process will be to analyse and explore the identified themes or 'phenomena' in pursuance of "commonalities, differences, patterns and structures" (Kelle. 1995. In Coffey and Atkinson.1996.pg 29). I will then organise the coded data into categories so as to aid the interpretation process.

### **Ethical considerations**

This dissertation was subject to approval from the School of Applied Social Sciences Ethics Panel (Appendix \_). The following precautions were undertaken in order to address ethical concerns:

The participants were fully informed of the aims and objectives of the research, which was reinforced by the informed consent statement (Appendix A) and participant information sheet (Appendix B). Appendix A assures the participants that I will not compromise their confidentiality and anonymity, it also stressed that participation was voluntary and that participants had the right to stop the focus group or withdraw from the study at any time. The possibility that the focus group could raise difficult or sensitive issues for participants informed the information included in Appendix B which encourages participants to contact me if they require further information once the research has taken place; or FFT as a source of support in the event of any issues or problems arising as a result of their participation.

Appendix B also made it clear to participants that although I can vouch for my own behaviour regarding participant confidentiality, I cannot do the same for the other participants; a difficulty in using a focus group is that as the research occurs in a group situation and the group will be party to what is said, the researcher cannot guarantee confidentiality with respect to what others in the group hear and might repeat. During the

process of transcription I removed any names or identifying remarks, before deleting the digital recording. The transcript has been transferred to my personal, password protected computer and will be destroyed upon completion of my dissertation.

## **Chapter 4: Case Study Results**

In order to obtain an in-depth case study, I conducted a focus group of participants who had the common experience of being a New Traveller and then becoming housed. During the focus group, participants were able to discuss issues about this experience in a safe, comfortable environment, with a researcher they were familiar with. Of the five participants, three were females who had five children between them. Neither of the two males in the study had children and one of the male participants identified himself as having been a 'horse-drawn' traveller. All of the participants became travellers or 'went on the road' between 1986 and 1989 and they all moved into some form of settled housing between the years of 1997 and 1999. On average, the participants had been travellers for around 10 years and had come into contact with one another at various points during that time, but none had travelled together for the entirety of their time as a traveller.

When asked about access to health care, participants generally agreed that direct access to services such as General Practitioner (GP) surgeries when living on site was unproblematic, however it was often up to the discretion of the Doctor or health professional as to whether or not they would see travellers; sometimes health care providers were reluctant to do so due to the stereotyping of travellers in the media at the time and the stigma attached. "Personally I think it was easy to access them but it was down to being stereotyped as to whether they wanted to see you or not" (S) This was combated to an extent by those health professionals who visited traveller sites, but this was down to the individual and was more common in certain areas of the country.

In accordance with Webster's (1999) findings it appeared that females found it relatively easy to access healthcare due to an initial point of contact with maternity care "I've always found it fine, being pregnant with 'M', I kept all my appointments" (A). In a similar vein,

schooling was easy to access in the first instance, but evictions meant frequent changes in school, “There were lots of gaps between schools which was a pain” (A) which resulted in a lack of educational continuity. The most difficult health service to access was reported to be dentistry because dental work often involves ongoing treatment, which is difficult to achieve when constantly on the move. This indicates the adverse effects of eviction on long-term care for travellers.

The participants agreed that benefit providers treated them differently from other people receiving benefits because they often arrived to collect benefits en masse, a scene which on occasion could become quite unruly. This was seen as justified discrimination as the participants acknowledged that a group of travellers on ‘giro day’ could be quite “intimidating” (O) and “unruly” (A) to onlookers and that local authorities were aiming to get them processed as quickly and efficiently as possible, which was to the benefit of all parties involved. Some participants noted a lack of intervention from service providers who were unaware of neglected children “(there were) a lot of children on site that would have been taken into care if it wasn’t for us lot” (A); in many cases mutual responsibility for children was taken on by some of the New Traveller community who preferred to take on other people’s children rather than report the parents.

Reasons for moving into housing ranged from personal choice to site conditions, pressure to conform and even having a home stolen. For the women in the study the inability to maintain stable schooling for their children as a result of unauthorised sites and subsequent evictions was a significant catalyst in the decision to move into housing. For some participants there was a strong sense of changing personal objectives including the pursuance of careers that may have been difficult to achieve whilst continuing the traveller lifestyle. The male participants still felt that even when housed the pursuance of employment required concealment of their New Traveller identity. The majority of participants felt that had they been more widely accepted and provided with authorised sites containing good facilities, it would have been easier to juggle living on site with being employed.

Although the females in the study were less likely to hide their status as housed New Travellers from others, they did make an effort to dress in a way that was believed to be

more acceptable to the general public and preferred to look 'straight' in order to reduce negativity or instances of discrimination. This was related to presenting a different, non-traveller identity to outsiders who were assumed to hold stereotypes based on "typical things about gypsies" (O). The concept of 'straightness' was also reflected by one participant's opinion that it was beneficial to bring up children with exposure and understanding of the norms in 'straight' culture and maintain contact with 'straight' family members so as to give them the best opportunities "I made sure with 'M' that she could function in the straight world as well" (A).

Two of the female participants made reference to services that had helped them or their families with the transition to housing. These were as follows: Travellers Aid Trust, Travellers Education Service and the Local Housing Authority. The male participants were less aware of the help available, for S this was attributed to his secrecy surrounding his identity as a New Traveller, he felt that hiding this would make the transition to housing and the settled way of life an easier process. In this case participant S assumed that he would continue to be subject to the prejudice he had experienced "in the old days". O, the other male participant said "when I applied for my apprenticeship if I'd actually put the truth about my past and what I'd been doing for all that time I wouldn't have been entertained". Despite being housed at the time, O knew that his history of being a traveller would affect his training and employment opportunities.

The transition to housing was perceived as both a positive and a negative change. Physical aspects such as heating, running water and a working toilet were seen as positive elements of the transition. In comparison were the major economic drawbacks to housing: The payment of bills and the ability to develop debts. Due to the relatively low financial in and outgoings of the travelling lifestyle, the participants were largely unprepared for dealing with utility bills and their increased ability to accrue significant debts "When I moved into a house I ended up getting credit cards and massive debt" (S). The effect of moving into housing on the psychological and social wellbeing of the participants was varied; although some felt a loss of community and freedom, others said they maintained social networks with other travellers and housed travellers, consequently gaining the best bits of both



(travelling and housed) lifestyles. The Internet was also seen as valuable for social networking, which made “living in a house a lot easier”(S).

Accessing health care once housed was made easier by the emergence of the Internet as a research tool and the usefulness of aids to access which were previously unavailable when travelling. None of the participants had experienced discrimination from a service provider once they had accessed the service; although as explained previously, some practitioners were said to have denied access to health care in the first instance. S felt that he had avoided discrimination by neglecting to inform service providers of his past, and believed that if he had disclosed it, his experience would have differed “I think if they’d known the history of you past it would have been different” (S). In one case there was experience of the disclosure of New Traveller status creating a positive outcome from service providers; When D’s ex partner went from a hostel into housing “and he said he was a New Age Traveller, they actually put him in an area that would be less detrimental to his health” (D, Pg 9).

The attitudes of the community and of service providers along with the services available were perceived to be relatively dependent on geographical location; participants from the south east felt the attitudes in their town of residence where somewhat “small minded” (S) whereas areas in the south west of England such as Totnes in Devon, people were said to be much more accepting of housed New Travellers. This is probably because 'alternative' types have traditionally settled in southwestern areas over time, increasing their value and potential for attachment with New Travellers (Hetherington. 2000, pg 117). The participants also believed that New Travellers/ housed New Travellers are more valued and have a “better status” (H) than they used to due to equal opportunity legislation and superficial governmental commitments to better services for everyone regardless of lifestyle choice. This was echoed by S who believed that “Society does now accommodate alternative lifestyles which they never did before”.

Since becoming housed, reasons for improved wellbeing included being able to store fresh fruit and vegetables for longer and having a more stable daily routine. Taking the attitudes developed during the unique cultural experience of being a New Traveller into life as a

housed traveller was also seen as beneficial “I think the life experience thing is (worth) more than anything” (D). It was appreciated that the “character building” (H) nature of the New Traveller lifestyle often led to great achievements by housed New Travellers and New Travellers currently living on site. Despite the social disadvantages of housing, there was also recognition that the social side of living on site also brought with it peer pressure to party as it was “totally socially acceptable” (O) to smoke, drink and take drugs. The theme of drug misuse will be discussed further in the following chapter.

The majority of participants had at some point travelled in or around Europe; Spain, France and Portugal being the most common destinations. It was the general consensus that the situation for travellers in Europe was (at the time of travelling), and still is, better than that in the UK. Participants felt that the lack of visibility of large traveller groups alongside an absence of negative media representation meant that European citizens were more accommodating of their lifestyle; one participant experienced a high level of accommodation and acceptance when seeking health care.

## **Chapter 5: Analysis**

One of the main themes deduced from analysing the focus transcription was ‘stereotyping’, which was also strongly linked to the theme of discrimination. Discrimination was seen to be due to “stereotypes from the early days” (O), which had generally been negative because of media representation and government attitudes. O also felt that those who were prejudiced against New Travellers tended to blur the distinction between Traditional and New Travellers. The participants had a strong awareness of the New Traveller stereotype and the stigma attached to it, four out of five participants mentioned having hidden their New Traveller identity at some point in their lives, even in recent times: “I felt that because of the ostracisation before, I thought that was still carrying on” (S). The main reasons for this were to avoid discrimination when applying for employment or housing “I think I’ve probably said that I’ve been abroad for x amount of years as a way of getting around not having any references and stuff to move into a place” (H, pg 7).

Female participant A did not feel the need to hide her identity in daily life or when it came to employment opportunities: “I was always really open... and not embarrassed, or worried about people judging me” however, the focus group agreed that this was largely because A preferred to dress like a ‘straight’ person and tended to apply for jobs in a field which was perceived to be quite accepting of difference and diversity. Whilst living on the road, hiding one’s identity was not a priority due to the nature of the lifestyle and the daily tasks required to maintain this lifestyle, though it was recognised that appearances were important when interacting with conventional society. Henceforth the theme of secrecy surrounding identity was related to the desire for employment; which for most participants had increased in the period prior to moving into housing “I wanted to pursue a career which just couldn’t be done (on the road)” (O).

The relationship between housing and debt was a common experience of the participants A: “So I had, I could have overdrafts so it got worse for me”;

S: “When I moved into a house I ended up getting credit cards and massive debt”

In contrast, participant H believed that susceptibility to getting into debt was dependent on personal characteristics “I think that’s a personal thing though isn’t it, I can’t say that affected me” (H). Participant O went on to question whether those who were likely to live on the road were also the “type who are crap with money” (O), suggesting a possibility that poor money management skills are associated with those likely to become travellers due to social isolation and rejection (Carlen. 1996. pg 39). Participants experienced elements of ‘shock’ at the realisation of the economic responsibilities required of the settled population and were not “financially structured or prepared... whatsoever” (S) to deal with the formality of paying bills, budgeting and banking. Despite the initial shock, learning to manage money over time gave some participants a sense of routine and satisfaction, particularly in the case of one participant who enjoyed having her “direct debits coming out” (D) as it gave her a sense of independence and flourishing as a person.

The psychological effects of housing were reflected in participant’s descriptions of housing as “lonely” (D) “confining” (S) and “alienating” (O). Upon moving into housing, D felt she was unduly judged because of her New Traveller status but that as her new neighbours got to know her their prejudice subsided and they grew to treat her the same as they did others

on her estate. There was also a feeling of being in 'limbo' due to having the attitude and identity of a New Traveller but the surroundings and lifestyle of a 'straight' person - "like being stuck in between the two sort of thing" (O). The feeling of being in limbo was amplified by the fact that some members of the New Traveller community were judgmental of those who made the transition to housing: "people still living on site see you in a slightly different way as well" (O). It was thought that negative attitudes from other New Travellers had decreased along with the rise in the population of housed New Travellers. Male participant S was the most unhappy about the transition to housing, as he felt (more than the other participants) that he had been pressurised by society to conform to the sedentary 'norm' of settling into bricks and mortar, "I didn't move off the road through my own choice, I moved into a house because of finances and stuff, but I'd then become one of those people who I said I wouldn't become"(S).

My results support Clarke and Greenfield's (2006) observation that New Travellers seem to encounter similar physical, economic, psychological, social and environmental problems to Traditional Travellers when making the transition to housing. Kenrick and Clarke's (1999. Pg 108) assertion that loss of community does not always result in a loss of identity is also reflected by my results which show that the participants have been able to maintain their identities as housing has not changed the attitudes that set them apart from 'straight' people. Despite sometimes having to modify appearances to avoid discrimination once housed (D: "That's why I took my dreads off"), maintaining the same attitudes as they had when they lived on site (A: " I think it's just, like, your attitudes" (that support well-being when moving)) aided the participant's well-being during transition to housing. The findings also echo previous research (Greenfields 2002; Clark and Greenfields. 2006), which has found that housing is physically rewarding but mentally difficult: Benefits of becoming housed included heating, running water, toilet and routine whereas limitations included loneliness (for them and their children), alienation, bills and less social interaction.

In the literature search I found evidence that New (and Traditional) Travellers found access to health care services more difficult to obtain than those from the sedentary population especially in the case of GP's (Hawes 1997. Pg 23). Although GP's had denied access to

some participants, in the case of my participants it was not a matter of coping with the 'bureaucracy' (Hawes, 1997. Pg 3) of services which affected their access to GP's, but the prevalence of site visits from GP's to where they were residing at any given time (O: "the local GP or whatever would take it upon themselves to come and check things"), and the lack of need to access these services in the first instance. Once housed there was more scope for continuity of GP visits but participants were ambivalent over whether this had a positive effect on their wellbeing;

A: " It's been easier to access doctors just because like, it's the same one"

H: " It doesn't make that much difference because I don't really frequent the doctors that much".

The Internet along with other facilities available in housing such as a telephone and a telephone directory (A: "you've got your landline and your Yellow Pages or whatever whereas when you're living on site you've got to drive to the nearest town or try and find the information") were seen to have a strong positive effect on wellbeing by providing information on the health care and the services available.

Kendall (in Acton. 1997, cited in section 2:1 of the literature review) suggests the centrality of women in accessing resources. I found that whilst travelling the services provided to female participants were on the whole accessed in the first instance due to their role as child bearers. This pathway was therefore denied to the males in the study (who did not have children), though I recognise that this may differ for other male New Travellers who do have children. In section 2:1 of the literature review (Traditional Traveller research) I outlined the findings of Cullen's (2009) research. In contrast with his finding that female travellers associated housing with depression because of the loss of community, the female participants in my study felt that over time they had been able to maintain contact with the New and housed New Traveller community. In fact the participant who had been the most reluctant to move into housing and felt their overall wellbeing (in relation to the areas outlines in Appendix E and F) had been most compromised by housing was male. Greenfields (2009 (1) also found that forced housing resulted in 'high levels of anxiety and depression' (Pg 1). This suggests that the reason most of the participants did not feel their psychological wellbeing was seriously affected

by the move to housing was because although they had been subjected to various push factors, there was also a sense of choice and desire for the transition.

Although poor site conditions, constant evictions and disrupted services influenced the decision to seek housing, this was also affected by the need to accommodate changing priorities and situations. Most participants felt that as they had begun travelling in their teens, it was a “natural progression” (O) for them to move into housing because as they got older their priorities, wants and needs changed.

D: “We’re getting older, growing up, older now aren’t we”

O: “Yeh people having kids, you’ve got new responsibilities; you’ve got sort of a different focus”

This was especially evident in the participants with children who felt that living on site was beneficial to the development of their children “I think living in a house has improved my life personally, but I think that for young children it’s better (travelling)” (A). As children became older, an undisrupted education became more important. S concluded that after about a decade of travelling a “re-evaluation of options” often occurred for New Travellers who felt lack of employment, stability and basic amenities had become incompatible with new priorities.

In the literature search I discovered that Parry et al (2004) found that for Traditional Travellers those who travelled more had better health. From the New Travellers in my study only one participant felt that going back on the road would improve his well-being, “I miss living on the road and I’d love to go back but it’s still difficult” (S). Although it was difficult to weigh up the pros and cons of housing, the rest of the participants felt that that stage of their life was over and they would prefer to travel more as opposed to going back to ‘living on site’; implying that their well-being could still be improved by an increased travelling pattern. All participants agreed that the experiences and personal development they gained from being a New Traveller had given them a sense of being part of a unique, special movement that played a part in their personal development, and for the women, the personal development of their children. Living as a New Traveller was also described as a “personal journey”(S) and a “learning experience” (H) which was valued and looked upon fondly but without denying the ‘grimness’ of some aspects of site life.

One of the grim aspects was substance use; drugs were a “massive thing” (O) for travellers living on site. One of the reasons participants gave for leaving site was the “state of mind, drugs, stuff like that” (O). The participants felt that drug use had become socially acceptable within their peer group and that housing was a way to remove themselves from that scene. However, participant A said that this was a “misapprehension” on her part as a change in mindset, not a change in situation was needed in order to change her substance use habits. H went on to say that she felt housing did not have a direct influence on substance use patterns: “I think it’s a personal thing... you’re gonna do it anyway because that’s the way you are” (H), though peer pressure was believed to have a strong influence over drug taking. Another participant explained that her ex-partner’s drug use had been taken into account alongside his status as a New Traveller when the Local Authority housed him.

Although common experiences and themes emerged from the data, they did not apply to every participant in the same way. It is important to note many of the issues identified depended on the individual and differed between participants, just as they do for any member of the population. For example, the majority of participants had experienced housing as a facilitator of debt, but one of them had not, so a comparison can be drawn with the general population, many of whom are also in debt. The themes of identity, ‘limbo’ and prejudice, along with most of the other themes identified and discussed, all relate to the concept of ‘non- recognition’ of housed New Travellers. The concept of recognition as an element of social justice (as identified by Fraser and Honneth (2003)) will be discussed in the following chapter.

## **Chapter 6: Policy Implications and Conclusions**

Over ten years ago Morris and Clements (1999. Pg 30) proposed that ‘other means should be explored to fight discrimination against non-ethnic travelling people’. Yet despite the introduction of GTAAs under the 2004 Housing Act, New and Traditional Travellers



continue to face difficulties in accessing authorised sites (Department for Communities and Local Government. 2006. Pg 13), the complications of the eviction cycle continue and there is no condition in the legislation that the accommodation provided for travellers should be culturally suitable. When an individual feels they must hide their identity in order to avoid inequality and discrimination this has a serious implication for social justice. The results indicate a need for legislation that is more tailored to the needs of New Travellers rather than an attempt at social control or to gain public popularity, legislation which does not ignore the minority in favour of the majority and aims to give rights to all travellers whilst discriminating against none.

More should be done to distinguish the differences and similarities between different types of traveller: Two of the participants mentioned that the boundaries between New and Traditional Travellers were blurred when it came to the public's formation of stereotypes. This suggests that because others do not recognise the differences between traveller groups and thus treat them the same, discrimination can be experienced by New Travellers to the same extent as it can be by Traditional Travellers. Ultimately indicating that similarities between traveller groups should be considered when formulating minority focused legislation, as the levels of discrimination and prejudice felt by both could be reduced as a result; 'All that is required is recognition that Travelling people are equal to, but different from settled people' (Morris and Clements. 1999. Pg 8).

Recognition has been discussed by Fraser (Cited in Fraser and Honneth. 2003) as an integral to social justice, which has historically been neglected by policy makers in favour of redistributive justice (Fraser.2003. pg 7). The concept of recognition as a mode of achieving social justice is bound within the discourse of identity and equality – both themes that have emerged from the focus group discussion. Fraser (2003) goes on to explain the value of recognising difference; 'Here the goal, in its most plausible form, is a difference- friendly world, where assimilation to majority or dominant cultural norms is no longer the price of equal respect' (Pg 7). Kendall and Harker (2002) intimate that well-being can be improved by facilitating participation in 'lifestyles that are valued by wider society' (Pg 6). But what if, as I have demonstrated throughout this dissertation is the case for New Travellers, your lifestyle is rarely recognised, let alone valued by wider

society? According to Kendall and Harker (2002) and Fraser and Honneth (2003) this non-recognition is largely detrimental to individual well-being and social justice respectively.

The incentive to investigate this topic was grounded in my desire to increase recognition of the issues faced by New Travellers; if more people recognise these issues, more can be done to address them. A welcome implication of increased research into New Travellers would be the allocation of more specific paid support workers for travellers. Hawes (1997) suggests that work with travellers will be “more effective if more designated health visitors are appointed”. Van Cleemput (2000) furthers the sentiments of Hawes (1997) by stating “specialist health visitors for Traveller families who move into houses should maintain contact with them for at least two years”. This indicates the importance of the transition to housing, and also that traveller’s well-being should be monitored in order to alleviate the problems associated with ‘bricks and mortar’ (Clark and Greenfields. 2006) accommodation. Whilst my participants referenced services such as Travellers Aid Trust which effectively helped a traveller in need by visiting whilst on site then continuing contact once the traveller was housed, experience of such services was uncommon despite the high demand for them.

Money management and debt awareness are the areas during the transition to housing in which participants felt they would have benefitted most from more help. Finance is an issue that is rarely focussed upon within the field of health and social care but appeared to be a central factor to the experiences of the New Travellers in the focus group. This relates to the aspect of social policy that is associated with the economics of different lifestyles or the ‘socio-economic’ health inequalities (Baldock et al. 2007.Pg 412). Substance misuse was also a topic that was not apparent in most of the research.

I increased the reliability and validity of my research by remaining open to evidence that could contradict assumptions developed during the literature search. This is exemplified by the inclusion of some results that contradict findings from the literature review. I have also tried to include an accurate and unbiased representation of the views expressed in the focus group; quotes were used according to relevance and although some participants were quoted more often, this was because they said more during the focus group, though no

particular participant dominated the discussion. The replicability of my study is dependent on the researcher's relationship with the New Traveller community; gaining access to participants from the housed New Traveller community may pose more difficulty for other researchers. Investigator or interviewer effects may have occurred though I minimised this possibility by phrasing my questions without leading words and trying to refrain from verbal or visual cues indicating my own opinions of the issues covered. I used five participants instead of six as originally intended but I do not feel this had a detrimental effect on the focus group. This sample is not representative of the housed New Traveller population however, what I do have are the views of five people, providing me with the capacity to offer insight into the experiences of those people. Case study approaches lack generalizability, if I were to further my research a way of remedying this would be to conduct a series of focus groups/ case studies (Flick. 2009) in order to gain a wider database of results.

A major attitude change from the public continues to be discouraged by national government who still reinforce unjustifiably negative attitudes towards travellers by creating oppressive legislation and allowing prejudiced attitudes towards travellers to be expressed (Conservativehome Local government blog. 2010). Indeed Lister (2000. Cited in Webster and Millar. 2001. Pg 3) has argued that the government has prioritised social inclusion at the expense of its social justice commitments. This is reinforced by the concept of individual vs. collective (cultural group) rights (Kallen. 2004. Pg 26) as the government tends to concentrate on the rights of the individual rather than the rights of the New Traveller group. Inter-agency work and partnership within and between the fields of health and social care have been at the fore of the government health agenda for some time (DoH. 2000) When it comes to the site to house transition the transference of knowledge, details and information is vital to an effective transition based on the accommodation and recognition of New Traveller culture.

Throughout this dissertation I have explored aspects of social justice from legislation to discrimination and wellbeing by documenting the views of travellers who have experienced the transition to housing. By comparing the experiences and concepts discovered in the literature search with the lived experience of new Travellers has also aided my explanation of how the transition to housing affects the social justice and

well-being of New Travellers. Most importantly I have found that my sample of housed New Travellers confirmed that ‘travelling is a state of mind’ (Earle et al. 1994. Pg 45) and that although this state of mind may be subject to subtle changes upon moving into housing, it will not be changed completely, much less eradicated.

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